

Message Text

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NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3325
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PEPR, AU, NL, XF, IS
SUBJECT: KREISKY INTERVIEW

REF: STATE 226707

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE EMBASSY'S SUMMARY TRANSLATION OF THE ARTICLE BY JAMES DORSEY WHICH APPEARED IN THE DUTCH CALVINIST DAILY "TROUW" ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1978. IN THE ARTICLE HE SUMS UP AN INTERVIEW HE HAD IN PALMA WITH AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR BRUNO KREISKY ON THE GENERAL SUBJECT OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE CHANCES.

2. BEGIN TEXT: ALTHOUGH HE IS ON HOLIDAY, KREISKY CONTINUES CLOSELY TO FOLLOW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE SITUATION. FOR YEARS HE HAS BEEN FIGHTING WITHIN THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL FOR A MORE BALANCED APPROACH TOWARDS THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. HE HAS OFTEN EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE "...ONE-SIDED INTEREST FOR ISRAEL AND THE FACT THAT THE ARAB WORLD WITH ITS HUNDRED MILLION INHABITANTS IS SIMPLY IGNORED. FOR YEARS IT WAS RESENTED IN THE INTERNATIONAL EVEN TO MENTION PALESTINIANS. GOLDA MEIR USED TO SAY -
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PALESTINIANS, WHAT ARE THEY? EX-MINISTER ALLON ONCE SAID - KREISKY TALKS OF PALESTINIANS. IF THEY EXIST THEN WE HAVE CREATED TWO PEOPLES. THIS IS BOUNDLESS ARROGANCE ON THE PART OF THE JEWS AND THEY DON'T EVEN RECOGNIZE THAT IT IS. ONLY AFTER THE OIL SHOCK OF 1973, WHEN I ONCE AGAIN VENTED MY SPLEEN, DID THE INTERNATIONAL SEND A COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY TO THE MIDDLE EAST."

3. IN ISRAEL KREISKY IS OFTEN REGARDED AS PRO-ARAB, BUT HE EMPHASIZES THAT HE SERVES NEITHER OF THE PARTIES. "I'M NOT A SECRET ARCH-ENEMY OF ZIONISM. I'M ALSO NOT A ZIONIST. JUDAISM IS TO ME A RELIGIOUS TRADITION JUST THE SAME AS CALVINISM OR CATHOLICISM. I SAY THIS TO EMPHASIZE THAT THIS BACKGROUND IS NOT REPELLENT TO ME. THERE ARE PEOPLE SO INFECTED BY NAZISM THAT THEY BELIEVE THAT ONE IS TRYING TO CONCEAL SOMETHING HERE. THIS IS ABSURD. ONLY SOMEONE WHO IS INFLUENCED BY NAZI PHILOSOPHY IN REVERSE CAN THINK THIS WAY. THESE PEOPLE WANT EVERYONE TO WEAR THE STAR OF DAVID AND THEY'RE ALWAYS BUSY ACCENTUATING WHAT THE NAZI'S ACCENTUATED - HOW DIFFERENT THE JEWS ARE - SOMETHING WHICH ISN'T TRUE AT ALL."

4. KREISKY SAYS THAT HIS INVOLVEMENT WITH THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION IS MOTIVATED BY "SOCIALIST, POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN" REASONS. "IN THE FIRST PLACE I'M A CONVINCED SOCIALIST. SECONDLY, THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS SO SERIOUS BECAUSE A PERMANENT WAR IS TAKING PLACE THERE. WHAT IS CHARACTERISTIC IS THAT ALTHOUGH THE PARTIES TO THE WAR ARE SUPPORTED BY GREAT POWERS THEY AVOID THE INFLUENCE AND CONTROL OF THE BIG POWERS. THE BIG POWERS CAN'T AVOID A WAR BREAKING OUT. THIS SITUATION IS EXTREMELY DANGEROUS BECAUSE THE BIG POWERS CAN BECOME INVOLVED, IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, WHICH COULD LEAD TO A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN

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THESE POWERS OR TO TENSIONS WHICH COULD HOLD TERRIBLE DANGER FOR EUROPE. THIS COULD MEAN THE END OF DETENTE. IF ONE AS A EUROPEAN AND AN AUSTRIAN WANTS DETENTE TO CONTINUE THEN ONE MUST TRY IF POSSIBLE TO CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST."

5. KREISKY'S THIRD REASON IS "...SIMPLY HUMANITARIAN. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE HAVE BEEN DRIVEN OUT OF THEIR HOME COUNTRY. WE IN EUROPE HAVE ACCEPTED THIS JUST AS WE MORE OR LESS ACCEPTED THE DESTRUCTION OF MILLIONS. EUROPE IS THEREFORE NOT A GOOD EXAMPLE OF JUSTICE IN THE WORLD, BUT THIS SHOULDN'T BLIND US TO THE MISERY OF THE PALESTINIANS. ENFORCED SOLUTIONS OF THIS KIND NEVER LAST LONG."

6. KREISKY EMPHASIZES THAT HIS INVOLVEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION ISN'T OVER-COMPENSATION FOR THE FACT THAT HE'S JEWISH. HE CONSIDERS THAT "...NEVER BEFORE HAVE CHANCES FOR FUTURE PEACE BEEN SO NEARLY WITHIN REACH. HOWEVER, ALSO NEVER BEFORE HAS HUMAN SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS STOOD SO MUCH IN THE PATH OF REALIZATION."

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7. KREISKY CONSIDERS THAT SADAT HAS A GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO
MAKE TOWARD PEACE. HE SPOKE WITH HIM SHORTLY AFTER THE
OCTOBER WAR AND WAS CONVINCED THAT SADAT NOW WANTED TO WORK
FOR PEACE. THEN HE WENT TO ISRAEL AND TOLD HIS FRIENDS THERE
OF THIS. THEY FOUND HIM NAIVE AND MEDDLESOME, AND THEIR
ATTITUDE WAS HOSTILE.

8. KREISKY SAYS THAT SADAT HAD EXPECTED A MUCH GREATER
RESPONSE TO HIS JERUSALEM VISIT LAST YEAR. "BUT HE HAD TO DEAL
WITH POLITICAL GROCERS LIKE BEGIN, SOME SORT OF LITTLE POLISH
LAWYER FROM WARSAW. THESE EASTERN JEWS ARE SO ALIENATED,
THEY THINK IN SUCH A WARPED WAY, THIS BECAUSE THEY'VE
NEVER HAD ANY POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY. THEY'RE GOOD SOLDIERS,
BUT THAT CAN BE LEARNED QUICKLY. IT'S JUST A MORE REFINED
FORM OF BANDITRY. THEY HAVE NO SUBTLETY IN POLITICS, THEY
MAKE THEMSELVES UNPOPULAR. THE MOST HATED DIPLOMATS OF THE DAY
ARE THOSE OF ISRAEL. IT'S UNBELIEVABLE. THEY STILL NEED
A HUNDRED YEARS. THEY'RE JUST AS BAD AS THE AFRICANS, ALSO
INSUPPORTABLE PEOPLE. THE SUPERSTITION THAT THEY'RE INTELLIGENT
IS NONSENSE. THEY'RE JUST AS STUPID AS THE REST, THEY JUST
SOMETIMES HAVE MORE PREJUDICES. THERE ARE SMART PEOPLE AMONG
THEM, BUT AS A WHOLE THEY REACT WRONGLY."

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9. KREISKY DESCRIBES SADAT AS A "...UNIQUE HAPPENING IN THE ARAB WORLD. HOWEVER, IT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD WHAT HE CAN AND WHAT HE CAN'T DO. HE CAN ACHIEVE REAL SUCCESS ONLY IF SOMETHING IS DONE ABOUT THE ONLY REALLY DIFFICULT PROBLEM - THAT OF THE PALESTINIANS. ALL THE OTHER PROBLEMS ARE IN REGARD TO TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS. HOPE OF A SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND IN RESOLUTION 242. ISRAEL MUST RECOGNIZE THIS RESOLUTION. IT MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT THAT NOT ONLY ISRAEL BUT ALSO ITS NEIGHBORS FEEL A NEED FOR SECURITY MEASURES. HISTORY IS NOT QUITE AS IT SEEMS TO PRESENT ITSELF IN ISRAELI MINDS. THE OTHERS HAVEN'T ALWAYS BEEN THE AGGRESSORS. IT WAS REALLY THE TROOPS OF THE ISRAELI GENERALS WHO ATTACKED."

10. KREISKY THINKS THAT S GOOD ISRAELI ANSWER TO SADAT'S JERUSALEM VISIT WOULD HAVE BEEN AN OFFER TO SOLVE THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION IN ONE OF TWO WAYS: "ISRAEL SHOULD HAVE MADE A CHOICE BETWEEN A PALESTINIAN STATE LINKED TO ISRAEL AND ONE LINKED TO JORDAN. I THINK THAT THE PALESTINIANS WOULD HAVE BEEN INCLINED TO CHOOSE ISRAEL, FOR IN JORDAN 35,000 HAVE DIED. BELIEVE ME, I KNOW AFATAT."

11. KREISKY CONSIDERS THAT SADAT KNOWS THAT ONE WON'T BE ABLE TO GET THE PLO AND ISRAEL TO CONFER TOGETHER RIGHT AWAY. THE FIRST CONDITION IS THAT THE LAND BE GIVEN BACK. "WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH THE WEST BANK OF THE JORDAN AND HOW THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION IS SOLVED ARE ARAB AFFAIRS. IF SADAT IS SUCCESSFUL THEN THE HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY LIES WITH THE ARABS. IF THE ARABS CAN'T SOLVE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM THEN WE CAN SAY - HOW CAN YOU EXPECT FROM ISRAEL A SOLUTION FOR A PROBLEM YOU CAN'T SOLVE YOURSELVES?"

12. HOWEVER, KREISKY REJECTS THE SUGGESTION BY THE BEGIN
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GOVERNMENT TO GIVE THE PALESTINIANS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AUTONOMY UNDER ISRAELI SUPERVISION. "THOSE WHO DREAM OF A GREATER ISRAEL FORGET THAT A SYSTEM OF A COUNTRY WITH PROTECTORATES HAS NEVER SUCCEEDED. EXAMPLES ARE AUSTRIA AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE. AN ISRAELI EMPIRE WITH A MILLION ARAB INHABITANTS IS DYNAMITE. ONLY FASCIST THINKERS PERHAPS CAN'T SEE THIS. THE FACT IS THAT DIVIDED DEMOCRACY DOESN'T EXIST. JUST THE VERY FACT THAT ISRAEL HAS SO MANY GENERALS IS SUSPECT. SWITZERLAND HAS JUST ONE GENERAL. ALL THOSE GENERALS THERE - GROTESQUE. EVERY MAJOR THERE IS A GENERAL. INCREDIBLE VANITY. EVERYONE THERE IS PLAYING AT BEING THE BIG COMMANDER. ALL WHO WANT TO KEEP THE WEST BANK MUST HAVE BEEN STRUCK BLIND BY GOD. WE FIGHT AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID. HOW LONG BEFORE WE FIGHT ISRAELI APARTHEID? THE WHOLE WORLD WILL RISE TO FIGHT THIS, FOR ONE CAN'T DENY THAT THE ARABS WILL BE SECOND-RATE CITIZENS. SOCIALISTS CAN'T

TOLERATE THIS. SOONER OR LATER IT'LL LEAD TO A TERRIBLE
CLASH. AN ISOLATION WHICH EVEN THE RICHEST AMERICAN AND
EUROPEAN JEWS WON'T BE ABLE TO PENETRATE."

END TEXT.

JOSEPH

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